as a ceremonial garment, it gradually came to take the place of all skin cloths. In the same way the importation of iron did away with bone and stone tools and Japanese manufacured goods replaced earthenware to the point where the method of making this ware was forgotten. Fishing gear made a particularly rapid improvement. The primitive fish net was replaced by the improved Japanese net and the materials from which these nets were made changed from bark to hemp thread while iron points were used on the fish spears. It is believed that iron imports had a great influence on harpoons which were called *Hanare* and on hooks fastened to wooden poles called *Mareppu*. As the imports of small knives, large knives (choppers—machetes), sickles, etc., grew the economy became more and more varied. Significant was the development of agriculture and the increased use of dogs. Agriculture had, previously, been carried on in a haphazard way. Only small areas were planted which yielded little and this little was considered a luxurious supplement to the hunting and fishing catch. But this changed and by the early part of the eighteenth century the area under cultivation extended from Shakotan peninsula in the west to Shiraoi in the east and agricultural products were becoming important especially in tiding the tribes over the winter.[18]

In the northwest, where agriculture was undeveloped, dogs played an important economic role. These dogs were not only used in hunting but also furnished meat and skin clothing during the winters. These people were skilled dog breeders and the Karafuto Ainu, influenced by the continental peoples, used dogs for hauling and transportation.[19] Here we have a people still in a hunting and fishing economy but developing techniques that were to prepare them for either an agricultural or a stock-raising economy. In addition to their regular livelihood, trading added to their wealth. At first they traded only the surplus of their necessities, small in quantity and limited in variety. After the infiltration of techniques from Japan the variety and quantity of their goods increased and their labor, which hitherto they had used only for the production of the necessities of life, they turned to making goods for trade. With these goods as a medium of exchange they began to accumulate wealth. They especially prized brocade, gems, and other decorations from Santan and swords, lacquer and ornaments from Japan, and the measure of wealth became the accumulation of these objects which were not only symbols of wealth but the prime medium for the purchase of fishing grounds[20] and which under the name *Ashinpe* could be made payment for crimes

In lieu of The death PENALTY

[18] Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu no nōgyō (Ainu agriculture), *Nōgyō Keizai Kenkyū* 9 (2).

[19] Mamiya Rinsō, *Kita Ezo Zusetsu* (A description of the island of Northern Ezo).

[20] Kyūdōjin no densetsu oyobi jijitsu dan (Aboriginal legend and fact), *Shokumin Kōhō*, No. 42.

[P. 14 (B)]

105 tresses had so many more people to work for them that
421 they became wealthier and wealthier.

592 In addition to this, chiefs were able, as major parties
556 in trading, to control large amounts of property. The rich were respected and were called *Nishipa* [the rich] while those who possessed nothing and worked for
105 others were called *Wenkuru* [abominable persons] and
554 were despised.[72] Those who could extend their benev-
565 olence to many succeeded in Ainu society while those unable to repay sufficiently had the lowest position. The rich eventually became the village masters or *Kotan*
[557] *Isapane*. This is seen in a story from *Ainu Shinyōshū* called "The song sung by the God of owls himself, around the silver drops."[73] This new leader took the
105 place of the old blood chief by virtue of his wealth and
622 economic power although he was obliged to have proper blood relationships.[74] Since the chief had to stand treat to the village once a year wealth was a necessary requirement for chiefdom. The *HDHS* . . . says: "Once or twice a year, the chief or the man with both wealth and virtue would treat men and women, old and young from neighboring countries with millet
[273] wine. . . . This was called *Kamoi Nomi*" [drinking to the gods].

● 178 Regulations came more and more to be based on
622 actualities than on custom. Nevertheless, the communal economy among kinsfolk was not entirely gone and the chief had no power of control over each individual except for his *Utare*. He was regarded only as the head of a family which had more *Utare* than anyone else in the village. Vol. 3 of *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*, written in 1622, says, "The chief had only three or four servants to serve him." The heads of other families
[627] in the village were entitled to settle their own family affairs without recourse to the judgment of the village chief and the approval of the chief was called for only when a situation involved the entire village or kinfolk. Issues confronting the entire village were settled by a
[623] general village conference where the chief was only one of the speakers. However, it was but natural that the more powerful and wealthy of the chiefs, especially those with a large number of relations should extend their power over several villages and the pressure from the Japanese drove the Ainu villages into a conscious union from which there arose chiefs of tremendous power among their people. Yet the Ainu never formed a
105 nation because their economy never developed to the
64 point where it could support a permanent political organization and when they did acquire, from the Japanese, the necessary advanced economic techniques, the Japanese were, at the same time, acquiring political control over the Ainu and the subsequent Ainu attempt to form a small primitive nation came to nothing.
000 For example, look at the region along the Ishikari River

[72] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 289, note.
[73] *Ainu Shinyōshū*, 1 ff.
[74] Matsumoto Nobuhiro, Aino Potorachi, *Minzoku Gaku* 2: 4.

people meet again after a long absence. They stand face to face and after shaking hands start talking while, at the same time, patting each other from head to knee. When the Japanese came to the *Basho*, Ezo would be waiting for them and after *Umusha* would start to trade. This is described in the *Tōyu Zakki:* "The Ezo, upon arrival in port of the vessel, would, when the men from Matsumae landed, pat their shoulders or even embrace them to show their feelings." *Omusha* gradually changed into a formality. The change is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki:*

> When the first vessel arrived from the mainland in the spring, there were inquiries and rejoicings about each other's health. After a brief greeting many instructions were given to the natives such as "work hard during the fishing season," "do not make trouble with nearby villages but live in peace with them," "when a ship is in distress lend all the aid you can and never take advantage of the situation to steal." "Then two cups of sake were offered to each Ezo together with pipe and tobacco."

According to this, the gifts were one sided. But when an official was on board the Ezo also presented a gift. The *Ezo no Shima Bumi* [A Journey to Ezo] has a passage on *Omusha* at Kunashiri Island written in 1801, "Gifts from the lord were sacks of rice, sake, yeast, and tobacco. The Ezo offered eagle feathers, *Eburiko* [*fomes officinalis* Fr.] and *Ikema* [*cyanchum caudatem maxim*, swallowort]. Thus, it became a duty of the trade supervisor to collect eagle feathers, animal skins, and Santan products which the Ezo offered in *Omusha*."

As the products of Ezo increased in variety and quantity and as the Japanese stayed longer in Ezo an added custom came to be practiced. This was *"Uetotsukobaku"* or *"Sharanpa"*—a kind of ceremony of closing the trade. *"Uettukopak"* meant to "bid goodby" and *"Sharanpa"* is from the Japanese *"Saraba"* both having the meaning of leave taking. It is described in *Watarishima Hikki* as follows:

> In autumn when all activities in the mountains and the sea come to an end the merchants, before returning to the mainland, give instructions to the Ezo to repair the nets and boats during the winter and to store goods until spring. After that sake is served to the Ezo, including the women and children, and everyone drinks and sings to their hearts' content.

And since these two ceremonies marked respectively the beginning and the end of the trade, it was customary to "check with each native the excesses and shortages in his account so that further arrangements could be made." The *Watarishima Hikki* says that *Omusha* became an autumn event held after the trade was over. "The Ezo in general did not keep count of the days and months and were little concerned by the passage of time. There were some who would drink all day and be in bed for the next three days and at times as much as ten day would be wasted, which was very inconvenient for the Japanese." As the years went by the Ezo became familiar with instructions and since there

was no breaking of the regulations the *Omusha* was gradually omitted and only the *Uetotsukobaku* party was held at departure time. Since the *Omusha* had been considered the more important of the two ceremonies, the *Uetotsukobaku* came to be called "Omusha." This latter type is the *Omusha* referred to in the *Igen Zokuuu* written in 1790 and, during the same year an *Omusha* was held twice in Sōya. The first, held "on June 10 at the Sōya council house, gathered because the sea cucumber season was at an end and the Ezo wanted to return home together with the Ezo from Enobetsu and other low country people" while the second one was, "in the latter part of July to mark the end of the year's trading."

Thus *Omusha*, originally a ceremony of greeting after a long absence, became an event celebrating the close of the trading or fishing season and this change came about parallel to the growth of more complex relations between the Ezo and the Japanese. Since it was the only occasion in which Japanese and Ezo assembled peacefully, it came to be used as a method of control over the natives when such necessity arose. These ceremonies, except at *Basho* owned directly by the daimyō and where supervisors were sent, were managed by the superintendants or interpreters of the respective *Basho*. According to *Hokui Dan* [On the Northern barbarians], "When there was a change in the Matsumae family *Omusha* was held at each *Basho* post by the managers and interpreters who clothed themselves in official garb while the *Otona* and *Miyagedori* [gift bearers] also dressed in their best, came together to receive instructions and regulations."

These regulations were originally no more than an arrangement to guide the conduct of the Mainland Japanese by the managers of trade but as Japanese power grew the managers and officials of the daimyō began to make regulations for the Ezo as well. "Aboard the vessel to Ezo the lord sent a *Uwanori* and an interpreter. At the post a high platform would be built and from this the regulations would be read while the Ezo gathered around and listened with respect."[45] The *Uwanoriyaku* was an official who supervised the trade. The trade itself had once been carried on by the Matsumae and the *Basho* developed by them.[46] As time passed and the *Basho* fell into the hands of merchants the areas of trade retained directly by the daimyō were limited to new fishing grounds and to what was called "light goods," i.e. eagle feathers, furs and skins, bear livers, and Santan goods. Since the merchants were forbidden to handle these goods one or two *Uwanoriyaku* were sent with the trading vessels to see that this

[45] *Tōyāki*.

[46] For example, the acquisition of sea cucumber grounds in Karafuto in 1751 was under Kato Kihei who was the *Uwanori* of Sōya, *Kita Ezochi Hattan no Nukigaki* (Original documents on Northern Ezo) and the Shiranuka *Basho* was opened by the clansman Tobiuchi Kameemon, *Ōkō Ezojin no Hanashi no Kikizutae Hikae* (Notes on stories told by the old Ezo).

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*648 except for farmers in Matsumae, the trade shall be reserved
*175 to members of the Matsumae clan alone.

3. Guardhouses shall be erected at Akkeshi in east Ezo and Sōya in west Ezo where such officials as managers, swordsmen, and foot soldiers will be stationed. These people will regulate and control the Ezo. Since the climate gets very cold in the winter and the sea freezes, making it very difficult to spend the season there, the Ezo shall be provided with sufficient supplies and the mainland traders will all return to the mainland. Beginning with this spring, officials shall be sent to investigate conditions along the frontier and those necessary steps recommended in their reports shall be taken.

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4. Besides the guardhouses in east and west Ezo others will be located in convenient places. Furthermore, instructions (that the regulations be observed) will be sent to areas managed by retainers of the clan.

5. In preparation for possible foreign invasion fortifications shall be emphasized and in cases of emergency reports will be made by signal fires prepared in advance. Furthermore, clan officials shall be sent into Ezo and adjacent islands and to the frontier line and all necessary measures will be taken. April.

Matsumae Shima no kami

A summary of this would be as follows:

1. Trade in the remote areas of east and west Ezo to be brought under direct control of the Matsumae, thus eliminating the evils of the contract system.

2. Traders in Ezo, that is, the managers, guards, and interpreters, were limited to those who lived in Matsumae territory, thus preventing evil characters from outside from coming in contact with the natives.

3. Guardhouses were set up at Akkeshi and Sōya (later at Ishikari) with managers and clan retainers stationed at them to look after the Ezo. The Ezo were supplied over the winter and the mainlanders were sent home, thus eliminating tyranny by the traders. Furthermore, officials were sent to the frontier to investigate conditions and guide the Ezo.[19]

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The net result of all this was the following two policies:

1. The clan recognized the evils of the contract system and saw that it was the root of revolt. It therefore sought to correct the system and where supervision proved difficult the system was abolished.

2. Up to this time Ezo-land had been left to native self-government. From this time on the Matsumae tried to rule the Ezo through clan officials sent into their territory.

In regard to policy number one, little change resulted. This was because the financial condition of the Matsumae really permitted of no change and the merchants were permitted, under a nominal "control" to manage pretty much as they had under the old contract system. However, the establishment of guardhouses and the tationing at them of officials to regulate Ezo life actually was carried out. These guard posts were originally established at Akkeshi and Sōya with the intention of building more at other places later on. However, according to the *Mizou Ki* [Record of Unique Matters]

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[19] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 358–360.

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Feudal Japan AB2

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30, 1789, written by Shimonokuni no Toneri and Ujieshimbei and addressed to the clan's expeditionary force in Ezo it says:[82]

> Notice has been given that the Ezo, regardless of where they may live, are to pay annual visits to the lord. This information is to be given to the contractors. After informing the contractors, instruct the chiefs and all Ezo to observe their annual visits to the lord. Furthermore, add that no special preparations for gifts are to be made.

Thus the expeditionary troops tried to make the natives visit the Lord Matsumae but aside from those Ezo who rendered service in suppressing the 1789 incident there is no record left showing that any Ezo did come to Matsumae.

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On the other hand there is evidence that the village government system improved. In *Higashi Ezo Dōchū Ki* [Journal of a Voyage in Eastern Ezo] are listed the names of Ezo for positions as *Otona*, *Waki Otona*, and *Kozukai* in each village. These were called the *Sanyaku* or "three posts" with the *Otona* as village head, the *Waki Otona* as his assistant and the *Kozukai* as the one who physically carried out the orders of the *Otona*. A village was governed by these three although there were many small villages without a *Waki Otona*. It would seem then that in the years after the 1789 incident the Matsumae clan realized the importance of governing the Ezo and made some improvements in the government of that island. This was done, needless to say, to satisfy the Bakufu and therefore the improvements were only in form and not in reality. Furthermore, in the years that followed, a number of significant events took place as follows:

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1. In 1791 and 1792 the relief trade was conducted by officials of the Bakufu in Akkeshi, Kiritappu and Sōya.

2. In 1792 and 1793 the Russian envoy Laxman arrived.

3. In 1796 and 1797 foreign vessels came to port at Etomo Misaki. And in 1798, amidst a confused national situation, the Bakufu issued an order bringing East Ezo under its direct control which ended the Matsumae regime. Thus the Bakufu took over where the Matsumae left off and established a firm system of management in Ezo.

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5. SUMMARY

The island of Ezo provided for the Yamato race an arena for their colonial activities in the modern period. First as a commercial colony, when the settlers, in order to obtain the rare products of the northern seas, came into trade contact with the natives, gradually expanded their trade, and with this expansion increased their footholds on the island. Actually the Matsumae area itself developed as a base of operations and the growth in power of that clan was due to the fact that it occupied that area which served as a funnel for commerce and it

[82] *Kansei Ezo Ran*. . . .

the *Kaishō*. Places for the evacuation of the children and the old are to be prepared beforehand so that no one may be taken prisoner and to eliminate any confusion.

7. In the past rice, tobacco, and sake have been brought in small amounts from Akkeshi *Basho* for trade. But ever since the Shoguinate started to develop this area the people here have been diligent and the Shogunate has been generous enough to provide them with rice, sake, and tobacco in abundant amounts, as well as other necessities. The reason that many Japanese officials are stationed here is to protect this island from foreign countries and to educate the people. Appreciation is expected for these considerations and the people should work hard as ever under the direction of the contractor, manager, and guards. In comparison to the difficulties encountered in the past by the people of this island the fact that everyone now lives in abundance and without fear should be greatly appreciated and the benevolence of the Shogunate conveyed to posterity.

8. Naturally those engaged in fishing should labor diligently under the contractor, manager, and guards and preparations made for lean years by storing food in spare time.

9. Eagle tails shall be prepared, in winter, as has been done in the past and taken to the *Kaishō* when the *Otona* goes there for the New Year's greetings. Any other articles obtained shall first be inspected at the guardhouse after which they shall be presented to the *Kaishō* by the *Otona* when he calls on business.

Supplement: Since barter in furs and skins is prohibited to the guards, the *Otona* will inform all villages not to violate this prohibition.

10. As old customs are being revised, one should make one's language follow that of the guards.

11. Recently people with disheveled hair have been noticed. Everyone is on notice to dress his hair.

12. When young men reach a certain age, they shall take a wife. It is forbidden, even for *Otona*, to have many mistresses.

13. Since doctors are available, those falling ill shall immediately report to the *Kaishō* for treatment. Furthermore, it is the duty of *Otona* and *Kozukai* to see that all unfortunates, including the sick, the old without family, and the blind, are well taken care of and such cases, reported to the *Kaishō* will be taken care of by the Shogunate via the *Kaishō*.

14. If anyone, contractors, managers, guards, and even subjects at the guardhouse, acts in an unreasonable or unjust manner, such action is to be reported immediately and, in case there are matters which it is preferred not to report to the manager, they are to be reported directly to the guard posts through any villager capable of interpreting. Any other business which requires either immediate notice or privacy of handling may also be reported to the guard post as above.

15. All villagers are to maintain a coastal watch and report any unusual incident to the *Kaishō*. Such watch shall, from time to time, be conducted at night.

16. In accord with previous instructions no camp or other type of fire is permitted near *Kaishō* or guardhouses in the mountains. The *Otona* is to relay this order to all his people.

The regulations and instructions mentioned above are to be strictly observed and their meaning conveyed to all people.[1]

It should be noted that the significance of *Omusha* changes from that of the previous period. Previously

[1] *Eso Fūzoku Ibun* 2: 1.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

the central character had been the *Basho* contractor. Now *Omusha* is taken over as a Shogunal ceremony and its connection with contractors becomes slight. This tendency is most conspicuous in East Ezo where direct trade was carried out. For another thing, in previous times *Omusha* had marked the grand closing of the fishing season whereas this now diminishes in importance and the settlement of the seasonal fishing accounts is conducted separately from *Omusha*. In addition a ceremony quite similar to *Omusha* was beginning to be held when officials arrived on inspection tours. That is, instructions were read to the natives, gifts presented to those with titles, those who worked hard, those with good conduct records, aged widowers, those without relatives, the ill, and those in need. This ceremony was carried out with great regularity after the Russian incursions of 1806–1807.[8] Ceremonies carried out during inspection trips made by magistrates or inspectors or by *Basho* officials were of a similar nature although on a much smaller scale.[9]

2. RELIEF MEASURES AND POLICY

While various means of appeasement were utilized by the Japanese government, the random giving of gifts was avoided as much as possible. An extreme example of this policy, which was decried by Mogami Tokunai, is cited below:

> The opinion of officials is that it is better to control the people by setting up laws, even if there are complaints about the law, than to give away goods to make them happy, since the latter method can scarcely be expected to last very long. This sounds like a reasonable opinion but it is a mistaken one. The enactment of laws despite the practical situation of the people is applicable only to the farmers of Japan. This same method when applied to the Ezo who are yet to be considered as good as other people might well be called "Blind Administration by Power" as is stated in the Canon of History. People coerced into submission by stringent national laws can hardly be called "treasures of the nation."[10]

However, the Bakufu did not hesitate to aid the poor, the needy, and the widowed. The following article which was to be read as part of the *Omusha Moshi Kikasesho* [Instructions to be read at Omusha] on Etorofu Island was probably actually carried out:

> *Otona* and *Kozukai* shall see to it that the blind and crippled, the old and homeless are well taken care of. These people shall also be reported to the *Kaishō* where appropriate aid will be given.

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[8] Hotta Settsu no kami e Rōjū kakitori (Letter from the Shogunal Council to Lord Hotta of Settsu), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 3 in *SHS* 5: 1216.

[9] Examples can be found in the *Hrishin Jōtetsu* taken from the visits made by Lord Kawajiri of Higo in 1808 and by Lord Arao of Tajima. *Edo Sōsho* [Collection of materials on Edo] 11: 287–289.

[10] Mogami Tokunai, *Ezo Sōshi* 2. Section on "Matters disliked by the Ezo."

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
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similation policy of the Bakufu extended to a physical union of the two races.

When Bakufu officials were first dispatched to Etorofu Island, the Lord Shinshū (Matsudaira Shinano) was secretly instructed to arrange marriages between Ezo women and Japanese guards who were to serve long periods on the island. I have found during my visit to the island this year (1804) that one of the guards, as of last year, was the father of eight children, of whom five were in good health. Unfortunately three of them died. . . .

It is also reported that similar attempts at union were made on Kunashiri Island.[82]

However, the daily customs and traditions of a race are deeply rooted in the life of a people since they have been formed over many years through the character of a race and its environment. Therefore, to legislate change or to expect quick results from such legislation is extremely difficult. If this difficulty be disregarded and the changes enforced, the result, as history shows, will be rebellion. The Bakufu realized this and instructed their officials to change things in a gradual manner. Instructions read:

The people should be encouraged to change their customs. However, patience must be exercised in making the people change to Japanese ways; otherwise, their sentiments will be aroused against us thus making the achievement of our aims impossible. We must wait until that time when the people themselves desire the change. This is especially true in changing the customs of the women.

Further instructions on the abolition of undesirable habits read: "Although it is our desire that evil practices be done away with simultaneously through the land, a hasty order will have ill effects on the feelings of the

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[82] "Since the year before last we have been teaching the Ezo to follow the customs of Japan. As a result, the Ezo have done away with tattooing, *Mekkauchi*, *Tsuchiuchi*, and other customs and practices. There are even a considerable number who have acquired some Japanese, especially children among whom are many who have learned the Japanese syllabary. However, there are as yet none who have shaved their heads except for a few employed by the agency. However, prior to the Bakufu administration, agency employees shaved their heads only during their period of employment after which they returned to their old ways. In reference to these matters we are observing your instructions and are not persuading the natives to alter their ways. Those who have direct contact with the Ezo have been carefully briefed to that effect and your generous consideration is being constantly relayed through interpreters to the natives who show great satisfaction. We have also been teaching these people that their conduct must be consistent with their belief. They are gradually showing some response to this for last year a group of *Otona* expressed appreciation for what had been taught them and stated that all the children on the island would be brought up to follow Japanese manners. At that time we merely stated our approval of the matter but true enough, ever since the Bakufu took over, not one of the babies born since shows the marks of earrings or tattoos. If this situation prevails, we believe it will not be long before the natives will have made the change of their own accord." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 7, Kunashirito ittai no gi moshiage sōrō kakituske (Report on the general situation on Kunashiri Island), *SHS* 5: 802-803.

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2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Although at one time the Ainu were very numerous, the census taken in 1923 gave their number as only 15,461. Of these 7,430 were males and 8,031 females; living in 3,504 houses. At the present time they are said to be 300 less than then. They are decreasing somewhat rapidly, some dying off and others marrying with the Japanese. Government is doing what it can for them and seeing that they have their plots of land to cultivate. But nothing can now avert their doom. They must soon be quite of the past. And they will depart without having left any history or having made any perceptible mark in the world. One feels very sorry for them, but the laws of nature are inexorable and must take their course.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

head covered. Should anyone cut his hair, unless it be on the occasion of a death, misfortune will follow; either he himself or some of his near relations will die soon after it. So have the gods taught. Let all therefore beware."

Another legend runs thus: "In ancient times, when the Divine One came down from heaven to teach the people, he said: 'Let any woman whose husband dies cut and pluck her hair out and look very miserable. Let her also wear a hood upon her head. If she does not look sad and remain apart from other people, someone might want to marry her and that would be a very bad thing to do. No widow should allow her hair to grow long again, nor should anyone who has lost a husband or wife remarry. This is because husbands and wives rejoin one another in the world beyond the grave.'" So taught Aeoina the Divine. But, although superstitions die hard, the barber has now come in, so that this one respecting the hair is rapidly disappearing, for both young men and women now dress their hair in foreign fashion.

Apropos of this matter, it is very interesting to remark that it is reported how Satan himself once preached a sermon from the pulpit of North Berwick Church, in which he comforted his many servants by telling them that so long as their hair was on, no harm could come to them!

But speaking more particularly to the point of the general appearance of this people—one friend said to me when visiting them, "How very like the Japanese some of them are! Look at those children! Why, I see no difference between them and the Japanese boys and girls playing with them!" But this, I pointed out, was not at all to be wondered at, considering what we know about child adoption and intermarriage. Of course they resemble one another, as we find them doing throughout the whole of Japan. Adoption of Japanese children has in past ages been one great way

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER VI

THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

"Before the tremendous shock of present day civilization, with all its harassing worries, vexatious rules, unbending laws, burdensome taxes, and crowds of immigrants, came upon us," say the Ainu, "our fathers had an easy time of it, without care and anxiety, and lived in quiet contentment and general happiness. But now all is change and the struggle for existence is wiping us out!" Poor fellows, they feel it sadly, notwithstanding all the protection and sympathy they are now getting. 177 178

According to ancient tradition, the Ainu people never had a monarchy. The elders of the race divided the government among the inhabitants of the separate villages, thus making each village community a small semi-independent state. And it seems to have worked well. The elders of each village assembled, I was told, and chose a chief and two sub-chiefs to manage the general affairs of the people, the women also being in attendance when such were being chosen. The principal chief, or, in the case of his absence, one of the sub-chiefs, was present at funerals to assist in burying the dead, or at marriages to signify his consent and cheer the young couple with his good wishes, or to assist in dividing up the meat or fish brought in by the hunters and fishermen. 621 622 [585 764]

The chiefs, together with the people, including the women, made the laws and sat in judgment upon the law-breakers. There were no law codes or clearly defined prescriptive rights, for the Ainu had no script. 627 692 [671]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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enemy Japanese during their wars with them. It was also used as a lookout post for spotting shoals of fishes nearing the coast. Then he took me to see the places among the rocks where the men used to set their spring-bows charged with poisoned arrows. I found all this most interesting. But times have now radically changed and we may not expect to hear anything more about such goings on. How Mr. Tee was accidentally shot in the thigh and killed by one of his own arrows will be told in a later chapter, showing that Ainu poisoned arrows were not meant to be played with. 117

In respect to the "Stone of Contention" mentioned above, it is quite interesting to remark how objects used in olden times for one purpose become changed for another as the days pass by. Formerly this stone stood for peace and was worshipped as though it were alive and knew all that went on, and had some sort of magical power inherent in it. Now, however, it seems to mean, "Keep on your own side of the line or woe betide you." The stone is never resorted to now for purposes of carrying out the good old Ainu law of settlement by arbitration, and its former use is to all intents and purposes forgotten. But the stone is one more echo of a doomed race. Japanese law and methods now prevail. Still, the stone is there as a witness and I hope it will be a thundering echo of the past, and so be allowed to stand. 627 178

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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CHAPTER VII

WOMEN AND THEIR TATTOOING

The first thing which struck me on coming to Ainu-land, as indeed it has struck others before and since, was the dreadful tattoo markings to be seen on the women, particularly round their mouths. To me it looked hideous, while by them it was, no doubt, thought to enhance their beauty. Seen at a distance, it makes them look for all the world like men. It is placed on the lips, hands and arms, and in some districts across the forehead as well. The custom will soon be a thing of the past, as none of the children are now being tattooed. It is done by incision as among the Melanesians, and not by pricking, as among the Japanese. As long as thirty years ago, and from time to time since, young women have on occasion come and asked me to take the marks out for them if possible. They had begun to look upon the practice as a sign of barbarism and were growing quite ashamed of the old custom. I was sorry for them, but having been cut in with knives, they were marked for life. Some of them even wept when I told them it was impossible to remove the stains. I will give an example of a conversation I had one day with a woman about twenty-five years of age.

304 563 [178 ● 171]

Self. You have something you wish to say to me. Please tell me what it is.

Woman. Yes, Sir. I have come to ask you if you will kindly take out my tattoo marks.

Self. But why do you wish to have them removed?

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

304 first touches, then the lower lip, and so on alternately till the tattoo reaches almost from ear to ear.

304 585 But we ask what is the real significance of the custom? Briefly I take it to be the wedding ring, but it is worn round the mouth instead of on the finger! I am quite convinced that it means taboo, though the Ainu seem to have lost that idea now, while in practice it is really so. I have on several occasions been called upon to arrange marriages for the people, and whenever things have gone on satisfactorily, I have noticed that the bride goes and has her tattoo finished round her mouth, and this is never completed till one has been betrothed or married. When the tattoo has been finished, all know that she is a married woman. She is set apart. Her fingers and arms are then done. So henceforth her mouth must speak only for her husband, and her tattooed hands and arms must work now for him and her offspring. But I must say that this custom is not always safe, for I have seen many with very swollen and sore lips after the tattooing has been done.

888 304 I was travelling a long time ago through the forest when far away in the interior I came across a tiny hut, standing quite by itself on the bank of a small stream. It was, as I thought it would be, a lodge set up there for an old person to die in. On going to look, I saw a very aged woman sitting by the hearth, stripping fibre from elm bark, with which to make cloth. She was quite blind but could do this very nicely. It was an old custom to place the very old people in little huts and feed them there till they died, on which event the place would be burnt down. The custom is dead now
● [178] and will not be revived, I hope. I thought it was a very cruel thing to do, but they did not seem to think so at all and quite expected it to happen to them if they lived too long. I entered the hut and sat down opposite her, as I wanted all the information I could get about olden times, which one could not hope to

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

304 manner, she commits a great sin, and when she dies will go straight to hell." The men said, "Untattooed [775 women may not take part in any feast, for to do so 562] would mean dishonouring the gods and men alike. Indeed, it would bring down the wrath of heaven upon both themselves and the assembled guests. Women untattooed go to hell when they die, and upon getting there the demons assemble with big knives and do all the tattooing at one sitting." This indeed, would be very painful.

One day I heard the following statement made as to the reason for tattooing the girls and women: "There is a good deal of bad blood in women which must be taken out. Tattooing was therefore introduced as a means of letting some out and so keeping the body strong." Another person said, "Tattoo marks are placed especially upon the lips and arms because [753 they are the most conspicuous parts of the body. They 776] are put there to frighten away the demons of disease. Now, the wives of the gods of heaven are every one of them thus tattooed, so when the demons come and find the Ainu women marked in the same way they mistake them for goddesses and forthwith flee away." Again they say, "When the eyes of old women are growing [753] dim, they should retattoo their mouths, for thereby do they strengthen their eyes." And once more. "Should contagious disease strike a village, the women should retattoo one another, and this will drive the demons away."

304 What ingenuity! What artful stratagems they
● 178 have worked up to save the life of a dying custom! But all is in vain. The rapidity with which things have progressed here since the Japanese have taken a real and kindly hold on matters is phenomenal. Since 1876, when I first came to Hokkaidô, things have gone on so rapidly that when comparing Then with Now I feel myself to be a very Rip Van Winkle.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

But do not let it be supposed for a moment that the Ainu are cannibals, for they are not so now, whatever they may have been in the past. Then the lady added, "Supposing a polygamist gets rid of any of his wives, ought he not to make them handsome presents, and should it not be by mutual consent?" I left the question unanswered. And so this case which the young lady quoted is but an echo of the Ainu past. I will add, however, before leaving this subject, that in the mind and reasoning of this lady there was a certain twist, for she said, "Surely it would have been better for that missionary, had a millstone been hung about his neck and he cast into the sea! For he caused a little one to stumble, did he not?"

It has been my great privilege to spend quite a long time among this peculiar and enigmatical people, and we have had a number of them educated. It has been a most interesting thing to watch how the old ideas of an uncivilized people come into contact with and then are partially abolished by modern thought. I am well acquainted with an Ainu woman who has been given a good Japanese education, who can play the organ nicely, and who has even been to England. For some time past she has been reading books on what is called "New Thought," of which, by the by, the present generation of Japanese are very fond. We have had much discussion on many points raised, for some of them are not in line with what is termed orthodox Christianity. She is a young lady who does not by any means always take things on trust and so we are at times unable to see eye to eye. One day after a long discussion she said to me; "Sir, I perceive that you are one of the *Genrō-in*" (i.e. Elder Statesmen).

I thought this rather strong. Nevertheless it is the spirit of the age. What a change! And to come as it did from an Ainu woman! It shows progress. However, I let it pass and at once replied: "Yes, yes, just so. Have it so if you wish. But remember this at all

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

178 times, my Chairman is the Christ, and the Standing Committee consists of the Apostles and Evangelists. I sit at the bottom end. I follow them as best I may in my religion and no one else." She lowered her merry, twinkling eyes at this and threw up the sponge. I have heard no more from her since about the "New Thought." She is doubtless still thinking. The present generation of both Japanese and Ainu are very restless under advice from their elders, and there is very much in the jibe of being an Elder Statesman! And so we see them "coming on." And some of them think Christianity is too strict.

178 795 This young woman is a fine Christian. She came to me one day in a very complaining frame of mind and I had no little bother with her. Said she: "I am very discontented today." "Why is that?" I asked. "Oh," she replied, "So and so has gone a bit wrong. Ah, before becoming Christians we do many little things which we do not then consider wrong, but as soon as we accept Christianity, things we thought right before straightway appear wrong. If any of us does a shaky thing now we have joined the Church, a very great noise is made about it at once. The non-Christians are up in arms in the twinkling of an eye, but if the very same thing is done by one of themselves no notice is taken of it; rather it seems to them to be the natural thing to do and somehow is to be expected! What a world! What a world! My friend did a very little wrong, but what a noise! And it is the very worst of the people who talk most and loudest!" And so forth. There is quite a lot of clever, quaint, good philosophy underlying the thoughts of these people and I find that they are very keen observers.

266 I mentioned above that the Ainu are not cannibals, but I have by me a story which seems to imply that they were so in the distant past. The tale runs as follows.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

242 829 no, he was quite sincere. In the conversation which followed the above incident, it came out that this Ainu believed strongly in the particular and special providence of the gods, and was strongly of opinion that they ought to be left alone to attend to their own special duties after their own fashion. Human beings should not attempt to interfere with their dispensations and evince a desire to get more out of the earth than they intend freely to bestow. It is the place of the gods to look after the men and not of the men to look after the gods. Man may sow but the gods alone can give the increase. Hearing this, I found it easy to understand why the people never manured their gardens or attempted to improve them. They feared the gods. That was the reason. And so it became necessary to [178] change their plots when the ground became exhausted. However, they have now learned that God helps most those who help themselves, and they know it to be a help all round to cultivate their gardens properly.

221 562 462 In the winter time, particularly during the latter part of November and the early part of December, the women assisted the men to net or spear the large salmon which are to be found in the rivers at this season. After this, the main stock of wood for the winter fires had to be cut, split, dragged or carried home upon the back and stowed away. The millet had to be pounded in mortars, the beans and peas shelled, and a thousand and one other little things attended to as circumstances required. And so it will be seen that the Ainu women were kept very busy at all times and one might perhaps be tempted to say that they were therefore very unhappy. But this was not really so, [461 177] for they were, as a rule, happy wth their lot, especially after a supper which had been well earned. I believe even today they are more happy with their lot than many of their sisters in the homelands, who, instead of cheerfully taking what work they may get if they try, and sopying their way, prefer to remain idle and draw their "dole."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

562 576 across the upper lip close under her nose and ended by stroking and smoothing the forelocks of her hair back behind her ears with her hands. Such was the general mode of salutation practised by the women. It was a tedious matter, though graceful in its way. But such salutations are now being superseded by the [178] Japanese methods, though in rare cases the older women still keep up the practice.

When the women have been away from their homes for a year or two and upon their return meet with their sisters and other female friends and relatives, they appear to take great delight in seizing one another with a firm grip by the shoulders and weeping profusely on each others' necks. I have seen women in this position for fully half an hour on end. While doing this they chant to one another and in a sing-song manner make known their whole personal history, and that of their friends, since they last met. Several times have we been kept awaiting our dinner for an hour or more while our servants have been engaged in this peculiar employment! Even the men do this performance at times among themselves; and it used to be common to see a father and daughter sitting in front of one another, the former holding the latter's hands lovingly in his own; even the men so greeted one another sometimes. They all seemed to be very fond of one another and waxed quite hysterical over it on occasion. I did not mind their doing this, but I'm afraid we did not like being kept for hours with nothing to eat after a long ride, when we were hungry. For when these people get worked up there is no doing anything with them. They go clean off their heads for a while. The children were greeted by merely having their heads stroked.

576 171 I am persuaded that this tearful greeting is not all of it natural, nor is it entirely conventional. It seems to me to be a mixture of each. It is simply "old custom." When in New Zealand a few years ago, I

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

without salt, I never found such food savoury. It seemed to my palate to be good material spoiled. The people, however, cooked it with garlic or anemone flaccida (which I never could stand), and seemed to enjoy it. Herrings, sardines, cod and other kinds of fish, large and small, abounded round the coasts, and also fine large crabs and many kinds of shell-fish. In those days I could get a very big crab for sixpence; today they are four shillings each. The lakes also were well stocked with fresh water fish. Hence there was seldom any lack of food.

There were also plenty of seals, walruses, porpoises, swordfish, black fish, bonito and such creatures to be caught near the coasts, and now and again a fine whale would be washed ashore. Yes, there was plenty of food for the Ainu in those halcyon days. And the people still hanker after them and wish they would return!

The fur seal formerly abounded in the waters of the north and, although they are now seldom seen about Hokkaidō, large "schools" of them used annually to migrate past Hakodate and Volcano Bay on their way to their breeding grounds under Siberia. The Ainu used to take many of these and use the skins for barter and soft clothing, and eat the flesh for food. Even so late as the year 1891, Professor John Milne wrote of these mammals as follows:

"In Volcano Bay I saw for the first time the fur seal migrating northward. (This was in June.) At a distance of several miles it appeared as if the surface of the ocean was covered with jumping fish. On approaching nearer, a glass showed them to be seals, which were diving and jumping out of the water, but all heading in the same direction. Before we passed them —which took several hours—hundreds were within 50 or 100 yards of the ship. The area they occupied was at least 5 miles square, and reckoning that each seal was, say, fifty yards from its neighbour, the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

'school' must have contained not less than 30,000 individuals. During the winter the exact localities these creatures frequent is not known, but it is probable that many of them are in the ocean off the coast of Japan . . . . . Yezo fishermen, during the winter months, capture a few hundred of these animals off the south coast." But nowadays one very seldom sees a seal in these parts; they appear to have been nearly exterminated.

As for land animals, Hokkaidō abounded in them, and meat was plentiful. Bear flesh, venison, racoon, foxes and hares were abundant, and the people were well fed. The skins of all these animals were bartered to the Japanese and Manchurians for lacquerware vessels, earthenware, iron pots, clothing material, cottons, old swords, Manchurian garments, earrings, beads and so forth. Sometimes one comes across Manchurian pipes, rings, and cash used as ornaments. All these, as well as rice and *saké*, were procured by bartering fish, deer's horns, and skins for them. Besides meat procured by hunting, there were plenty of duck, wild geese, swans, tree grouse, woodcock and many other kinds of birds, all of which were used as food. So that the people were not badly off.

At the time I am now writing of, there were very few bridges over the rivers and not a foot of railway was yet laid. We travelled for the most part on pack horses, and were ferried across the rivers—horses, packs and all. One day my horse, packs and I all went under water, the horse having jumped out of the boat with me on his back. Fortunately there was a Japanese inn on the other side, to which I went to dry myself and goods and get a meal. It was a very nice luncheon. When I had finished I said to the boy who waited on me, "That was a very nice woodcock you gave me, but how did you get it this time of year?" "Oh," said he, "that was not a woodcock but a chicken." "What," I replied, "do you mean to tell me that

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 were left standing up by the frame. They were about six inches in diameter and were very smoothly trimmed off level at the edges and tops. I have often seen them used for chopping small things. The chief sometimes used that in his corner of the hearth for cutting his tobacco leaves on, and for beating bits of dried fish on before toasting them at the fire. But they were most often used as rests when making and shaving fetishes, or when forming sticks into ceremonial moustache-lifters or arrows for baiting bear cubs with, at the famous bear festivals. At present, however, the custom of having them is dying out, as the houses are now being built after the Japanese fashion. Today some of the huts do not have them at all. These two small posts were regarded as the special personal fetishes of the male head of the family. Should the house not be burned down at the time of his death, they were pulled up and reverently burned upon the hearth and others substituted for himself by his successor.

178 768

342 339 137 As for the wood used in making them, I was told that the very best is the sacred *pungau*, *i.e.* "lilac" (*Syringa japonica*). This is said to be hard and strong and is sometimes used for making fetishes for the best of the divine Spirits. The wood of this little tree well withstands the decomposing effects of damp earth, so the chief pillars of the huts were formed of it. So also were the shafts of arrows which were used with the spring-bows set out in the open by the tracks or runs of wild animals. Nails and pegs and skewers were made out of it by the old people.

342 There are no chimneys in Ainu huts, but a hole is purposely left in one or both angles of the roof for the escape of the smoke. They do not always work, and the smoke is often a great trouble to one's eyes and throat. To those sitting close upon the ground it is much better than for such as may be standing or sitting on anything two or three feet high. Still, it is fine for any fish or meat which may be hanging in the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

warm, and very great care is taken not to allow a single drop even to fall upon the ground. If one drop should be spilt, dire vengeance would be taken by the gods. This is the first part of the festival.

I am very happy to say that the Government authorities have at length forbidden the people to kill the cub by strangling, so that the ceremony is now more humane and in some other ways modified. No doubt the whole thing will be quite a custom of the past in another ten or fifteen years.

My informant continued: "As soon as the cub is dead, a passage way is made into the hut by breaking down the east-end window, and he is carried in. Here he is immediately skinned right down to one inch or so from his nose point, and then beheaded. The skin is left attached to the head. This is placed upon a mat called 'Fetish Floor,' the fetish being the head itself. The nose is placed so as to face the fire. Dried fish is nicely chopped up and made into little bundles called 'bundles placed under the chin.' Then delicious strings of millet dumplings are threaded, which are called "titbit bundles." These are very good and are placed beside the fish."

The above named things are placed close under the animal's snout, not to eat, indeed, but ready for him to carry off to the mountains to make a feast, of which he partakes with his parent bears. While all this has been going on, some of the flesh has been boiled and a good soup made in large cauldrons hanging over the fires on the hearth. A moustache-lifter is also placed by the cub's nose, even when it is a female. Chestnuts, walnuts, and sometimes Japanese sweets used also to be given to the guests when I first put in an appearance among them.

"Then," my friend added, "when the old men have placed their crowns on their heads, they dance, and, the head of the divine cub having been nicely arranged and many fetishes presented to him, he is given some

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

553 sent to ask me to provide names for their babies and I spent a whole day and night in thinking them out. I found it to be a very difficult task. They came at the appointed time to receive names, but just as I was beginning, in walked two more happy mothers, each with a baby for me to name! There was no time for consideration and the only thing I could think of just then was "that blessed word *Mesopotamia*!" Nothing else would come, so I took a leaf out of Penri's book and called the boy *Mesa* and the girl *Potamia*. These did very well. So there are at the present time a Samaria and a Potamia about Piratori, who have grown up and are grandmothers.

551 There were no surnames among the people when I first knew them. Each individual, whether male or female, had but one name. Nor did the woman change her name upon marriage. Thus Penri was simply Penri, and Orosia had no other name than Orosia. Later, however, it was found necessary to add a surname for registration purposes. As a rule, they took the name of their native village. Thus, Piratori was
● [178] called by the Japanese Hiramura, so that every person born in this place was registered as a Hiramura. In this way Penri came later to be called Hiramura Penri and his wife Hiramura Orosia.

553 To his other duties I found that chief Penri added that of name-maker to the village children, and he told me that he often found it a very difficult problem to think out fitting ones for the candidates. When he asked me to take over the job, I requested him to give me all the information he could as to how the names should be made up. What now follows will embody the advice he was then good enough to give me.

Said he, "Be very careful not to use the name of anyone who has died, for that name is sacred to the deceased, who is still known by it to the gods, demons and his ancestors in the nether world. Though out of
[175] their material bodies, the departed ones are always

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

226 231 men would start off with 20 or 30 dogs and march along the sandy bays where there were shallows. As soon as they reached the place agreed upon, they would come to a halt. Half the men and dogs would then move along the water's edge for about 200 yards, the other half remaining.

Then at a signal the dogs were started from their respective points and caused to swim straight out to seaward in single file in two columns. At a sharp, loud call from all the Ainu in unison, the right column wheeled left and the left column wheeled right until the heads of both columns met. Then at another loud cry they all swam toward the shore in crescent formation. As they neared the shore, the increasing numbers of fish could be seen in the shallows, frightened forward by the splashing of the dogs following them.

As soon as the dogs found the bottom they pounced upon the fish like a flash of lightning. Many of the fish jumped ashore, pressed by the shoal which was urged along by the well-trained dogs. Every dog which caught a fish carried it to his master and would hand it over to him and to no one else. When received, the master would cut off its head at once and give it to his dog, for this was recognized both by man and dog alike as his special portion. The poor animal which [178] brought in no fish went home supperless. Such fishing, however, is now a thing of the past.

226 227 The people used to make a kind of fish trap they called an *urai*. These were generally placed across the rivers near the various tributaries. They were made of stakes driven into the river bed, the spaces between the stakes being filled in with a kind of wickerwork. This served as a fence to keep the fish from passing. The traps were made in the shape of an arrowhead, and always pointed down-stream. At the end, or point, of the arrow-head a doorway was made, and a kind of net, which was made to slip up and down

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

PREFACE

by B. Z. Seligman

NEIL GORDON MUNRO was born in Edinburgh in 1863, where he was educated and eventually studied medicine. Soon after qualifying he began to travel in the Far East, first in India and later in Japan. In 1893 he became director of the General Hospital in Yokohama, and, although he returned to Europe occasionally, from that time until his death he made Japan his home. He became interested in Japanese prehistory, and it was during his many visits to Hokkaido towards the end of last century and in the first two decades of this century that he met the Ainu.

His published works are as follows:

Primitive culture in Japan, Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. 34, 1906.
Prehistoric Japan, Yokohama, 1908; Edinburgh, 1911.
Reflections on some European Palaeoliths and Japanese Survivals, Yokohama, 1909.
Some Origins and Survivals, Yokohama, 1911.
Various articles on the Ainu in *Nature* and other journals.

He presented his valuable collection of prehistoric remains to the Edinburgh Museum.

Munro became Chief Medical Officer in charge of the sanatorium at Karuizawa, a hill station in Japan. For many years, in the season when the calls on his professional services at Karuizawa permitted, he made long visits to Hokkaido. His main interest shifted from prehistory to the living conditions of the Ainu. He deplored the state of these hardy people who had been forced to give up their hunting and food-gathering life to gain a bare subsistence from agriculture. They were impoverished, were

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

114
[178] becoming degenerate owing to alcohol and loss of interest in life, and were declining in numbers.

When in Japan in 1929 my husband, the late Professor C. G. Seligman, F.R.S., met Munro, he was distressed to learn that all Munro's notes on the Ainu, his specimens and photographs, had been lost in the great earthquake of 1923. At the same time, he had suffered severe financial loss and was unable to continue his Ainu studies at his own expense. Seligman was convinced of the value of Munro's accurate observation and of his intimate knowledge of the Ainu people. On his return to England he applied for funds to the Rockefeller Foundation to enable Munro to continue his in-
[122] vestigations. Funds were granted in 1930, and Munro immediately had a small house built at Nibutani in the Saru district of Hokkaido, and settled there, with his Japanese wife, to make an intensive study of the Ainu.

[123] His method of work was to open a clinic—in which he was aided by his wife, a trained hospital nurse—and to give free treatment to all who flocked to him. Having gained the confidence of the Ainu, he kept open house for all who came there to gossip, sing
[115] songs, tell legends and talk of past times. He was thus acquainted with a number of elders (*ekashi*), who became his regular informants, and to whom he referred as friends and teachers.

In December 1932 a second misfortune befel Munro. Before dawn one morning his thatched house at Nibutani was burnt down. He and his wife escaped from the flames, and managed to save a tin box in which he kept his Ainu notes, but all his belongings, his books, his photographic and other scientific material, were destroyed. Exposure to the bitter cold of the Hokkaido winter impaired Munro's health, and the disaster left him all but penniless. However, he did not give in.

[122] Seligman applied for further grants. In 1933 the Rockefeller Foundation made another contribution, and grants were made by the Royal Society and the British Association for the Advancement of Science. The Asiatic Society of Japan sent a donation. A small committee for the British Association was formed, and this now comprises Professor Daryll Forde, Lord Raglan, F.S.A., Mr Arthur D. Waley, C.H., C.B.E., F.B.A., with myself as chairman.

Munro's health deteriorated. It is not quite clear in which years he returned to Karuizawa to do a summer season's work at the sanatorium and when he remained throughout the year in Hok-

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

of their knowledge would have died with them, as the old way of life was fast disappearing under growing Japanese influence, and with new conditions the old rituals, beliefs and legends were neglected. It is unlikely that any of his informants are alive today. 114 [115]

Munro sent an excellent series of photographs, many of which are reproduced in this volume, but unfortunately, only the prints reached this country, and I have been unable to trace the negatives. The prints and all his original manuscript will be deposited at the Royal Anthropological Institute. [126]

Publication during the war was not possible, and afterwards, the difficulty remained of finding someone competent to revise the manuscript. It was fortunate that Mr Hitoshi Watanabe, a lecturer in the Anthropological Institute of the Faculty of Science at the University of Tokyo, who had come to London to study at University College, was eventually able to go through it. He had been a research member of the Tokyo Joint Research Committee on the Ainu, and had carried out field work in four expeditions from 1950 to 1952, so his assistance has been of great value. Besides making general comments on the manuscript, he has added footnotes drawn from his own experience, and from Japanese and other sources, and has written an historical introduction to this book.

Although Mr Watanabe saw the work as prepared by Munro, he did not see the other articles and papers. He criticized many details and one major interpretation made by Munro. Most of these differences, and all his additional information, are incorporated in footnotes. In considering the differences, some facts must be taken into account. As already mentioned above, Munro visited the Ainu country in the early decades of this century, and went to live among them in 1930, making Nibutani his home until he died there twelve years later. Already in the thirties he found that the younger generation was not keeping up the old customs, and his reliable informants were all old people. His information was based on events seen and heard, supplemented by discussion with elders. When the Tokyo Joint Research Committee made their investigations in the fifties, religious ideas may have been known more as theological systems than as living belief. This may account for some of the major differences in interpretation. As to the differences in facts, Munro pointed out that his records referred to those districts with which he was familiar, and to others from which he [198] ●

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

to neighbours and friends, but acquaintances, even if uninvited, are at liberty to partake of the feast, and even a stranger may be admitted if he asks permission and his credentials are in order. Before the arrival of the guests protective shavings have been dipped in the sacred beer and the householder (wearing an embroidered robe) and his wife have seated themselves at the places (10) shown on the plan (text fig. 3). Behind the householder are the sacred treasures, and in the north-east corner stands Chisei-koro Kamui which is, or rather was, made only before ceremonies for which the sacred beer had been brewed.

Husband and wife sit on a sacred mat, and another is laid at the top of the hearth (text fig. 3 at (7)), on which is placed a tray with four large cups (*tuki*) of lacquer ware on ring-like saucers (*tuki-num*). These cups were used formerly only for the sacred beer. A libation wand (*ikubashui*) is placed on the rim of each cup. Behind the tray (*otchiki*) is the large lacquered vessel (*sai-shintoko*) ((6) in text fig. 3) containing the sacred beer. Nearer the sacred window is another tray with four cups (5). In the south-east corner often stand two of the large tubs in which the beer was brewed (1). All the food which is to be partaken of is placed on or close to the lower end of the hearth, to acquire merit from being offered to Kamui Fuchi.

All the male guests make a sound of clearing the throat before entering. They walk slowly and quietly towards the head of the hearth, but not close to it, keeping on the side opposite the householder, stooping the while with palms about level with the knees. To walk briskly would be a breach of decorum calling for a sharp reprimand. Ordinary etiquette forbade an Ainu, whether friend or stranger, to approach a householder at home in anything but a slow and quiet manner, and even today, when manners are less strictly observed, it would be highly improper to enter erect and hastily on a sacred occasion. To be humbly reverent (*oripak*) before the assembled gods and their worshippers is a sign of good breeding.

On reaching a spot about level with the head of the hearth, but at a slight distance from it, the visitor turns for an instant towards the south-eastern corner (*so-kesh*), to which he performs a partial salutation by slightly raising his arms once or twice. This is said to be an acknowledgment of the presence of the mischievous spirit of tipsy behaviour, but may be a survival of a ritual salutation to the spirit of the sacred beer. A more reverent salutation is next

7tMunro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

VIII

THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS

(*SHINURAPA*)

THIS FEAST is sometimes called *Pase Ongami* (great ritual salutation), but is usually known as *Shinurapa*, which may be translated as 'Falling Tears'. It is actually a feast of All Souls—that is to say, it is a celebration in honour of the *kamui* and the ancestors. Not only are the ancestors of the householder called upon but also those of all other members of the household. It always follows the ceremony of *Chisei Nomi*. Its details are worthy of record not only for themselves but for their correspondence in part with other forms of worship which suggest the existence of an ancestral cult. It is also important in that it is the only ceremony in which women hold direct communion with the kamui.[1]

We have seen that preparations are made beforehand for a feast. Not only so, but part of the meal, that is the meat and vegetable stew (*ohau*), is eaten before the great ritual salutation, and most of the rest before the service to the dead. We may leave the question whether the feast in its present form is not a fusion of two once

[1] Possession (*ituren*) might be regarded as an exception, and the employment of women in beating out evil spirits in exorcism (*ukakik*) involves some transaction with invisible powers. In none of these cases, however, do women actually address such powers. The women work as assistants to the elders officiating. —N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

782 distinct celebrations.[1] What may seem anomalous is that a common
574 meal should be eaten before it is offered to the *kamui* and to the
769 spirits of the dead. But to treat these spirits with disrespect is the
776 last thing the Ainu would dream of doing, and the anomaly dis-
[178] appears when we look into the matter more closely. The food is cooked by fire, that is to say by Kamui Fuchi, now called Abe Kamui, and by her partner or other self, Iresu Kamui. Thus all the comestibles (I am not sure about the tobacco) are ritually offered to Kamui Fuchi before they are eaten. She represents the ancestral spirits, who are often spoken of as 'Those Dwelling Beneath the Hearth' (Abe-ra-un Kamui), and it is the Ainu belief that the good things set apart for the ceremony have already been offered to the Ancestral Host. To make assurance doubly sure, however, they are taken outside for service to those whose bodies have vanished underground.

[262] Reference has already been made to the types of food eaten at these feasts. Those now considered most appropriate are a stew of meat or fish with vegetables, dumplings or cakes of millet (*shto*), fish and fish roe, often with fat, and some wild fruits such as chestnuts. All foods are placed on trays, partly on the ashes of the hearth below the fire but not at the lowest end and partly on a sacred mat close to the hearth (text fig. 4 (15)); this is an act of ritual offering. Before the great ritual salutations the householder prays briefly to Kamui Fuchi for permission to take her food. After the trays have been laid for a short time near the head of the hearth, cups or bowls of the stew are handed to all the guests in turn. The women are served after the men, first the old women sitting behind the housewife and then the younger ones on the
[273] opposite side (text fig. 3 (12 and 13)). Moderate drinking goes on but all should be quiet: *Kamui nomi teksam a more*—'At service to the gods respectful calm'.

769 The guests remain seated in order as before and preparations are
778 made for the ceremony. The *chisei-koro inau*[2] which has been stand-
782 ing on a large sacred mat (text fig. 3 (9)) is saluted by those
574 assembled and then removed to near the treasures by the north wall, to which it will later be affixed. The old name for this pro-

[1] The following account is local and is based on observation supplemented by information given by several of my teachers. I have omitted slight variations. —N.G.M.

[2] See also Chapter V, p. 65, and Chapter VI, p. 72.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-I. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

the housewife was given the same kind of twisted shavings, also dipped in the beer, but this is not often done today.

All departing guests perform the ritual salutation. Those who remain form a small double row at the head of the hearth, like that before the ceremony began. The beer-container from the head of the hearth, still holding a little beer, is replaced on the sacred mat. It is then customary for those of the women who have remained at the lower end of the room to perform a farewell dance. This is traditionally the last dance at all festivals. It is called *hararaki*, or doing *harara*, because it is always accompanied by the sound rr-rr-rr, which represents the whirr of birds taking to flight. The dance is mimetic. Each performer, holding the ends of her sleeves between her fingers and palms, imitates the flapping of wings, swaying her body so as to move her outstretched arms alternately up and down. It is obviously intended to represent a flock of birds; what birds? Some whom I have questioned recognize imitation of birds without curiosity as to their kind. It seemed to me possible, however, that it represented the departure of the souls in the guise of birds at the end of the feast, and when I mentioned this to Nisukrekguru and asked him to recall any bird which rose to flight in this manner, he suggested wild geese. He also recalled instances in the old legends of souls taking the form of birds after death. This was in answer to a question but, though leading questions must be used discreetly if at all, the instances immediately cited were quite convincing. I should add that at festivals this dance is performed only at the end, though it is sometimes danced for amusement at other times. At the Bear Festival, however, the elders dance the *tapkara* as a farewell to the departing spirit of the bear.

When the large beer-container is empty it is removed to the north-east corner; the last backward-shaven *inau* is burnt, and the sacred mats are deposited near the wall on the north. There, too, the *chisei-koro inau* comes to its final resting place, being stuck high up in the thatch of the wall.

A few friends cluster round the hearth listening to tales of olden times. There are still some Ainu who are fairly conversant with the sagas and legends, and whose recitations, with emphatic taps on the hearth-frame, invite eager attention. Engrossed in tales of the past, they fail to notice the passage of time. I have called at five o'clock on a December morning, and several times later, to find a

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

sound. When the patient arrives at the backward-shaven *inau* of Mintara-koro Kamui a sickle is drawn downwards from both shoulders six times by the two women, as is done in the Kamui Puchi purification.

Lastly, the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, and purification is again performed, as in the case of Pauchi Kamui, either bamboo grass or mugwort being used. The rite performed before entering the house and that of airing the outer garment are as described previously. The evil *inau*, which were pulled up during the ritual, are placed behind the privy, and, as their function is ended, the rag of black cloth which distinguished the leader is removed. With them are deposited the switches used in brushing away evil.

In cases of hysterical neuroses the types of *uepotara* just described are often successful, but should they fail, incision is sometimes resorted to. Slight incisions are made, little more than scratches, with the sharpened point of a sickle. These may be on the abdomen or over the affected part. They are said to let out 'bad blood', and are stroked over with the *wen haru*. Isonoash says that the bleeding affords a means of exit for the disembodied spirit or its evil influence. There are slight differences in the prayers, and the six sets of evil *inau* are arranged not in a single line but in a double line of three sets on each side. Between these the patient is treated by purification, as described in the last ceremony. In both these exorcisms a thorny switch of *Rubus crataegi-folius* (*fure ai-ush ni*) is sometimes used, but is laid on lightly. The remaining operations do not differ from those of the *uepotara* previously described.

When the illness is due to possession by a red fox or a badger, a *nusa* is set up at the third tree for Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and the elder prays there also.

It has already been said that all serious diseases are believed to be due to evil spirits. In former times there were Ainu who were believed to cause sickness and even death by casting spells or by other magical expedients. I regret that I have not visited some places where one or two such people are said to be still living. But in no case known to me has sickness been attributed to black magic; exorcism is always directed against spirits of some sort.

Epilepsy was formerly treated with severe measures, by purification by means of fire and by immersion in a river till the patient was unconscious or nearly so, but I am told that this is no longer practised.

DEATH AND BURIAL

The following is a description of funeral customs and rites observed at Nibutani. In other parts there are local differences, but so far as I can learn they are slight. 764 184

Funeral Food

With the exception of dried fish (*sat chep*)[1] which is specially requisite, and is often kept for funerals, the food eaten at them is much the same as for the feast which the ancestral spirits are believed to share. Now, however, some Ainu offer Japanese cakes, and fruit, and even put some in the coffin. The placing of food in the grave was not an Ainu custom. It is now usual for guests to bring food and a little money, and this mostly goes in the purchase of Japanese spirits (*shochu*). Formerly water only was the rule at funerals, and it was only on rare occasions such as the death of a village chief that a small quantity of sacred beer was brewed for the 'parting glass'. The women bring millet if they have it, *piyapa* for porridge and *munchiro*[2] for cakes (*shto*); this is brought unground and ground at the house of death. When an Ainu dies young or in middle age the milling goes on in silence, but when an elder or old woman dies it is thought that to sing an *upopo* cheers the departing spirit. The *upopo* of grinding is somewhat different from those sung in round dances, which are not danced at funerals. 764 178 262 [177] [271] [273] [256] [533]

As soon as life is extinct food is prepared, for the deceased has eaten little during his illness and is therefore thought to be in need of sustenance. This is afforded by the essence or *ramat* of the food. Food is therefore offered to Kamui Fuchi, who sends its *ramat* to the Ancestral Host by a messenger (*shongo*). In some places the bowl of food (*pakekai*) is placed at the head of the corpse[3] with a single chopstick set up in the middle. 764 262 [774] [782]

The near relatives, sitting on each side of the corpse, which is laid to the north of the hearth with its head to the east, eat food from two trays, each of which bears four bowls. They eat with their fingers; guests formerly did the same, but now chopsticks are 764 264 [177]

[1] *Sat-chep* means literally dried fish, but is applied only to dried salmon of special quality made by a prescribed procedure. In the past its most important use was as an offering to the bear cub and for the feast in the bear cult.—H.W.

[2] *Panicum crusgalli* and *Setaria Italica* (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 1, pp. 228 and 230).—H.W.

[3] It is said that at the present day a wife often drinks a cup of water placed by her deceased husband's head, and that a man will do the same for his deceased wife.—N.G.M. [178] [593]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

DEATH AND BURIAL

No. 4 is the mother's father, or her brother. Nos. 5 and 6 are the mother's sisters, or failing them a close friend of the deceased. It will be seen that the privileged positions are occupied chiefly by the father's kin when a son dies, but five out of six of them by the mother's kin when a daughter dies.

Guests usually weep while waiting to be invited into the house, and women outside and inside chant the dirge (*o-yo-yo-pota*). Text fig. 7 B shows the order of visiting mourners. They come in groups from different villages, each group selecting a representative, usually a chief. The men proceed, as if bowed down with woe, to the space between the hearth and the sacred window and their representative is led by a male relative of the deceased to the spot marked (a). At other gatherings the conductor takes the guest's left hand in his right; here he takes the right hand in his left. Hands may be rubbed a little but are raised only once or twice and reversed, that is to say with palms down and wrists drooping.

In performing the act of reverential or mutual condolence (*umusa*), also called sympathetic embrace (*umura-ipa*) on this occasion, it would be an affront were a relative of the deceased to put his hands above the shoulders of a visitor; the latter is clasped below the armpits and puts his hands over the shoulders of the former. After each visitor has said a tearful farewell to the corpse the relative who conducts him to his place may raise the hands normally once or twice as a token of gratitude. This is contrary to the custom of the past.

On entering the house the women turn to the left and congregate at (c) near the lower hearth. They do not go to the head of the corpse but drop their tears at its feet.

The elder at (a), leader of his group, after greeting the elder at (d) with his hands down, says a short prayer to Kamui Fuchi as an act of condolence with the family. He is conducted to near the head of the corpse, sits down, bowing low with his hands on the floor, then slides along and weeps over the head, keeping his hands down. He then performs the act of mutual condolence with the six relatives, one after the other, and is conducted to (e), where those who have performed the greeting to the dead sit in line. He is followed by all the men of his group in turn, and if there are many mourners the performance may take several hours. The women also follow one another, doing the act of mutual condolence

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

764 [576] (Pl. XXV) after weeping at the feet of the corpse. When this ceremony is finished all wash their hands outside and the funeral feast begins.

[534] The important mourners sit in order along the north wall, and this arrangement is called *pone kiri—samta u-eshopki* (beside the body mutually seated). At the head of the hearth are a few elders [782] specially chosen from the village of the deceased, with elders from other villages opposite. Libations are made to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and Chisei-koro Kamui, all with libation wand lowered. This is a slight reversal, except for Kamui Fuchi whose wand is usually lowered. The cup is passed from north to south, the reverse [782] of the ordinary custom, and the wand on its rim is pointed not towards the receiver but to the one who hands it. All guests before [262] drinking point the wand down to give a drop or two to the floor, [177] formerly of earth. The viands, consisting of stew, millet cakes, etc., and now rice and often cheap Japanese sweetmeats, are set on trays [178] with short feet (*otchike*) near the lower hearth. Nowadays *shochu* is [273] offered to all the men and a little to the women, with resulting intoxication and deterioration of ritual observance. The manner of drinking, however, involves three instances of reversal which should be noted.

764 264 At the funeral feast for an elderly person an elder may dance a *taphara*, which is considered pleasing to the *ramat* of the deceased. A joyous atmosphere is quite proper, but if the deceased is young such behaviour would be considered most unseemly. The elder takes care to dance with his back to the corpse.

[782] The feast includes the presentation to the deceased of a tray with bowls of food taken from the hearth and therefore given by Kamui Fuchi. Relatives sitting beside the corpse and the elders near it partake of food which has been offered to the head of the [276] corpse, all eating with their hands. For a man, or an old woman who likes a whiff of tobacco, a lighted pipe is often placed in contact with the mouth of the corpse.

764 Before the feast begins, Kamui Fuchi's permission is asked to eat it, and when it is finished the elder at (d), who is usually a relative, makes a brief address to Kamui Fuchi. He then proceeds to the head of the corpse, weeps with his hands on the ground and [537] delivers the address to the departed, known as *piyo-itak-kote* (put in last words). This varies with the age, sex and standing of the individual, but it is usual to congratulate the old and commiserate

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

with the young. '*Fuo!*' is ejaculated at intervals, by some elders between every word or two. Oratory is highly esteemed and prayers and addresses are usually long. Addresses to the dead are sometimes delivered with intense fervour, evoking deep emotion. Their general tenor is sorrow with resignation and usually a reminder that the lamented one has taken the last meal with relatives and friends, and that provision has been made for the journey to, and future life in, the spirit village with the ancestors who have gone before. Advice is often given to do the will of Kamui Fuchi and to be careful not to lose the way, for it would be wrong to wander back.

Immediately after the address preparations are made for burial. The lacing cord has been attached to the grave post to keep it more or less upright, as it would be irreverent to have it lying down. In this district the post is regarded as a substitute for ancestral (*shutu*) *inau*, and its function is protective rather than memorial. The cord is used to bind the body in the mat; before this is done cuts are made in the clothes on the body, or a gesture of cutting is made. The mat is long enough to fold over head and feet, after which it is folded over the body. Skewers are thrust through the matting first at the head and feet, and the cord is attached at its middle to the top skewer. It is wound round the bottom one and drawn taut. Six more skewers, three on each side, are thrust through the matting, and the two lengths of the cord are laced round them alternately from side to side. When they are pulled tight the body is firmly enclosed, and is then no longer called *pone* but *ot*. The process is undertaken by near relatives, but it needs experience, so an elderly woman familiar with the technique may be called in to help. This mode of burial, though general when I first knew the Ainu, has now, except in remote spots, given place to coffin burial.

Grave-goods

Before the processions leave the house Kamui Fuchi is besought once more to take care of the soul of the lamented and to afford protection against any mishap. The grave-goods, selected to suit the sex of the deceased, have been packed for transport. All are broken or so severely damaged that they are considered to be as dead as the corpse, that is to say that their *ramat* has been set free

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

764 [774] to serve the *ramat* of the dead. The results of inquiries in different parts of the Hokkaido indicate that most Ainu still make lavish provision for their departed relatives. The following lists include things which formerly were, and for the most part still are, considered indispensable for adult Ainu.

Grave-goods for men include: a bow with arrows in a quiver; a spear and a fish-spear with hook; fish-hooks and lines; a knife (*makiri*); a heavy knife bevelled on one side[1] (*tashiro*); a sword; flint and steel with tinder (now a box of matches); a pipe and tobacco; spare shoes, leggings and working clothes; a feeding-bowl and chopsticks; (food may be given in some places, but is generally thought unnecessary).

[775] [776] There is no libation wand; Ainu souls, having become *kamui*, get libations from the living, and prayer is no longer necessary. Kamui Fuchi looks after them and conveys requests.

Grave-goods for women include: a loom (*attush karap*); a spindle (*kanit*); thick needles for shoes and thinner ones for clothes; various kinds of thread; a chemise (*mouri*) and two other spare garments; shoes; an iron pot, a bowl, a spoon and a cooking-spoon; for an old woman usually a pipe and tobacco and now matches; a knife and a sickle; a digging-stick or pick (*shittap*) made from a branch or the antler of a stag. Many of these objects are scarce and difficult to replace; their inclusion in the grave-goods is evidence of the strength of the ancestral cult.

Burial Rites and Customs

The wrapped corpse is attached by the hempen straps to the carrying-pole (*chihoma-ni*), an oak or ash sapling. When this mode of burial is followed the corpse leaves the house feet foremost and, [178] it is said, was formerly carried to the grave in this way. Now that coffins are in fashion it is often turned round outside the house to [184] go head first. At Piratóri the body still goes feet first, but at Nibutani, three miles away, the head faces the cemetery. Perhaps this is because here the cemetery is to the east, so the feet are to the west.

Burial takes place after the sun has passed the meridian. At funerals for both sexes a close female relative leads the procession, carrying a small lacquered vessel for water, another related woman

[412] [844] [1] This shape recalls that of obsidian knives, and it was interesting to learn from Rennuikesh that in the north it was used to cut the umbilical cord. —N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

764 broken or severely damaged before leaving the house; the others are now broken before being placed in the grave.

766 When a pregnant woman died, before the grave was filled in an
843 elder or an old woman performed a rite called *uko-ni-charapa* (to-
[184] gether opening out). The abdomen was cut with a sickle to allow the soul of the infant to escape. In the north, I am reliably informed, it was pierced with a needle.

695 Before the Meiji Era, a suspected murderer was confronted with the body of his alleged victim in the open grave, and after an adjuration to the dead was compelled to undergo trial by ordeal, dipping his hand six times into boiling water. Other tests are said to have been drinking an infusion of tobacco or six large cups of plain water. Should there be no scalding or vomiting, the accused was acquitted.

764 For aged Ainu it is still customary to line the grave with matting,
● 178 even when a coffin is used. The upper edge of the matting is detached and folded over the coffin as the mat is, or was, over the body. Relatives, the nearest of kin first, take a handful of the earth dug from the grave and drop it in, and the other mourners then do the same. This is called *toi-toi a uko-chupo*, in this district (earth earth thus together replacing).

After this rite the grave is covered. At Shiraoi, in the second decade of this century, I saw a grave lined with matting with a sort of roof. The carrying-pole laid along the top served as a ridge-pole, and boards connecting it with the sides enclosed the grave, which was then covered with earth.

764 When the grave has been covered the stake which was driven into the bottom soil to make a hole for the insertion of the grave-post is removed, and the latter is set up. Then follows the purification of the grave from evil spirits or their malign influence, *toi-a*
[789] *epiru*. This is done by brushing with switches, but to make assurance
[783] doubly sure the magically potent *ikema* root, cut into small pieces, is thrown over the grave from near the grave-post. In other circumstances it is often chewed and spat out, the force of expulsion adding to its efficacy, but it would be dangerous to spit over the dead.

764 *The Ritual of the Grave-post*
778

[184] Learned elders regard the grave-post (*kuwa*) as an ancestral *shutu*
[532] *inau*. Formerly, in the north, posts up to a foot in diameter with

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AB6 Ainu AB6

765

wenbe-otta maratto (after-calamity repast). Vessels of water are put ready outside for the mourners to wash their faces and hands. The [515] method of using the ladle for pouring out water is reversed, i.e. it [783] is moved from left to right. On the way back the mourners are purified by brushing, particularly when passing through a narrow valley or ravine where evil spirits might lurk. The mourners are said to be ***ikeshui utara*** (normally 'indignant' but here 'perturbed'). After washing they go into the house, the near relatives sitting close to where the body had laid.

Once more the visitors perform in turn the ceremony of mutual [576] condolence with renewed weeping. The ceremonial seating extends along the hearth and on to the sacred window. The elder who made [782] the funeral oration now prays to Kamui Fuchi, but without making the usual offering of a backward-shaven ***inau***. Starting with '*fuo!*' and speaking in a loud voice, he thanks her that all has been done safely and asks for further protection. The usual word for thanks is not mentioned; instead a paraphrase is used, ***uepoki iko-ongami***, which may be translated 'bowed down in worship'. The meal, which rests on the hearth before being eaten, is of the usual kind.

Former Customs

764

Twenty years before these descriptions were recorded the following funeral customs were observed. The inner coat was turned 178 ● inside out. The outer, though not always reversed, was put on over 291 the head to which the armhole of a sleeve was often adjusted. Here this custom is remembered as confined to the relationship [593] of husband and wife. After the funeral the surviving spouse turned 765 the inner garment before entering the house, but left the outer one outside to air and put on a fresh one in the same manner. This was 178 clearly a method of disguise and was called ***unaina*** (mutual hiding). 291 A widow might retain the reversed inner garment for a couple of years; the outer one while indoors for six months. One or two aged Ainu still reverse the inner garment for a week or ten days. When [302] men and women wore their hair to shoulder length, which men seldom do now, it was customary to cut it horizontally at the level of the eyes and ears. Now a slight clipping is occasionally removed. Widows wore for about six months what was known as a weeping [292] cap (***chish konji***), which was simply a strip of black cloth doubled and sewn on one side.

DEATH AND BURIAL

765 Another custom to confuse the departed spirit was observed.
783 Some days after the funeral the house and its contents were again cleaned. Chisei-koro Kamui was removed from the north-east to the south-east corner and all the treasures were moved from the
[778] north to the south. A backward-shaven *inau* was set up in the south-east corner of the hearth instead of in the north-east. These things were replaced after a few months, the spirit of the departed being then less likely to return.

[789] Ashes thrown about the house, at the entrance, and in the yard,
[775] are believed to repel the spirit of the deceased and to keep away
[776] *wen kamui*.

There was an old custom of *chisei-a-raire* (putting the house to
768 death), that is to say burning it at the death of an old woman if she had been the chief occupant. I was told that the reason for this was to provide a house in the underworld for her occupation. It was unnecessary to do this for a man as he would be able to provide
768 one for himself. Although the custom has lapsed, at Mukawa a
184 model house is made and burnt for the spirits of the dead. It is
● 178 about six feet by ten, with posts stuck into the ground. It has a hearth with a fire, a frame over it from which a pot is hung, and some food is cooked. Kamui Fuchi and Shiramba Kamui are prayed to, the former to ensure that the house is safely delivered to the departed spirit. I am told that in that district the term Pokna Moshiri, Underworld, is not used; the dead are said to go to Kamui Kotan.

Variants in Funeral Customs

789
775 In the north there are some differences in funeral customs. Rennui-
184 kesh Ekashi told me of a device, the ghost tube, to induce a wandering or refractory spirit to re-enter the grave, and made one for me (Pl. XXIV, fig. 4). It is made of *kuttara*, and is sharpened at one end for insertion in the soil. Near the top, under the joint, is an opening. The tube is planted in the road some distance from the grave, with the opening towards the grave and the back towards the house. The spirit is adjured to enter and take the short cut to the nether regions. The same device is sometimes used when an
[731] epidemic threatens to invade the village; the tube is planted in the road by which the approach of the epidemic is feared, and a sickle is placed behind it.

/36 cont./

532 825 interweavings of roots for an unknown set purpose. Only in relation to the representation of the head, the carvers exhibit a definite intention and great mastery in rendering the full likeness, and together with it a monumental generalization of the real appearance of a bear.

The collection of representations gathered by us (about 60 in number) can be divided into four groups:

1) Separate, realistically rendered bear heads (Drawing 3, b).

2) The most numerous representations, which render the general appearance of a bear (Drawing 3, v). The representations are all twisted in form: many of them either lack legs, or have the legs twisted in a grotesque way; others lack bodies so that the legs are connected directly with the head. In the same group may be included one paired representation of the bears sitting on their hind legs, with some incomprehensible additions made possibly for greater stability. (Drawing 3, g).

3) A Small group of sculptural combinations representing heads and legs (Drawing 3, d)

4) A representation in the shape of a bear's head with several quaintly shaped representations made of interweaving roots. Among the latter is a piece of root with a tied up knot with separated edges carved up into heads. (Drawing 3, e, zh, z)

192 532 825 Sinokava gave all these representations the name of inoka. L. Y. Shternberg translates this Ainu word as snake, inoka-kamui meaning a divine snake. Inasmuch as among the inokas the representations of bears still prevail, one may suppose that the name "snake" was transferred by the Ainus to the wooden image of a bear. This hypothesis is in accord with the grotesque form of the "bears," which seem to have still preserved some [171] of the appearance and attributes of the snakes. Evidently, in these inokas are combined the northern cult of the bear practices throughout Siberia with the cult of the snake brought by the 532 825 Ainu from the south. (5) As of greater practical significance

•178 [113]

5. See L.Y. Shternberg. Aĭnskaĭa Problema (The Ainu

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/37 cont./

problem). Sbornik, Khavarovsk, 1933, p. 571

under the conditions of life on Sakhalin island, the cult of the bear seems to prevail in these representations over the half-forgotten by the Ainu myth of the "divine snake."

Freed by the passage of time from the binding strings and the fur, the sculptural forms of the inoka are of exceptional interest, providing an opportunity of tracing the plastic metamorphosis of the mythical image of the snake into a realistic representation of the bear.

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Interesting samples for the comparison of the bear theme in the Nivkhi and Ainu carvings are provided by the ikunisi, the Ainu sticks--"usoderzhateli" (supporters). I shall first note an unusually great number of them, some 500 samples being known to us through the beautifully edited album and collections of the South-Sakhalin Museum. In the Ainu settlements we saw and in part acquired individual samples which have now become rarities. A distinguished craftsmanship in their execution, their richness of form, and a striking variety in their ornamentation made through the application of different methods of miniature-decorative carving, permit us to regard the ikunisi as real masterpieces of art.

[171]

Worthy of note is the symbolic-pictographic carving of the ikunisi. The materials at our disposal show not only the themes resembling those known to us in the Nivkhi bear vessels, but also a variety of new compositions. /37/

It is typical that on the ikunisi with the bear theme, the prevailing representations are not those of the entire figures of bears, but only their heads (one or several) generally placed in the string and band nooses which are interwoven (Drawings 4 and 5). On some of the sticks the interweaving was made not by carving but with real bast strings; on others the heads are shown on the right-angled platforms, and cups are placed before the bears' heads. It seems to us that these compositions with bears' heads present an early form of the bear cult (the

[171]

222 of the kind which was believed to be best for arrow poison were localized
314 in their occurence (p. 66). The four types of land cited above were invariably
311 distributed along any river, so that almost all necessary collecting was usu-
[484] ally done within a short radius of the *kotan*, or within a day's trip and back at the most. In the case of these particular species that were necessaries and that could only be found a long way from their homes, expeditions were
[462] sent out. The task of getting almost all edible plants, as well as varieties
[95] for raw materials, was undertaken by women and children.

Cultivation of Plants.

241 Before the land-allotment to the Ainu by the Japanese Government (Notes
[177] 9 and 10), the Ainu in the Otopuke valley and a half of the member house-
[184] holds of the local group in Kuttaraushi who lived furthest upstream on the Tokapchi and at least a household in Pipaushi further downstream, had done no farming, but other Ainus in the Tokapchi valley as well as, for instance,
[462] those in the Azuma valley, had done some small-scale farming[29]. The old techniques were simpler and the farm work was usually performed by women. The main crops were a variety of Panicum Crusgalli, *piyapa* or *ayushi amam*,
[221] and a variety of millet, *amam* or *toita amam* or *munjiro*. Preparation of field and sowing were done in July after storing of chief varieties of edible
[412] leaves was finished. Suitable plots on the river bank near their settlement were cleared and levelled with small wooden picks, *shittap*, which were also used for digging up roots and plants. Some families on the Tokapchi used a kind of sickle besides the above-mentioned implement. After the plots were prepared, sowing followed without making any ridges. Weeding was
[412] done only once or twice between the time of sowing and the harvest. The
[237] crops were harvested by picking ears with an implement made of a molluscan
[221] shell collected in the river, dried and stored. These jobs were done during the period between the last part of September and the middle or last part of October. The area cultivated by an average household in Azuma, Saru, Mukawa and Shikot is estimated by the present writer to have been between
[311] ca. 1000 and 2000 square metres. When the soil was exhausted the plot was
[134] abandoned and a new one prepared. In any valley there seems to have been no shortage of land for cultivation in those days. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area.

22 Food-getting Activities.

182 Every individual of every species of animals must get its food in order
433 $\frac{1}{A}$ $\frac{2}{A}$ sustain itself, and food-getting activities may claim to be of basic import-
178 ance in its existence. Up to comparatively recent times, before the introduction of agriculture in its rudest form, the Ainu had lived by hunting and

1, [Errata: the word "of" should read "to". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

2, [Errata: the word "from" should read "form". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

fishing and by gathering wild plants. Their animal food supplies came chiefly from deer and species of salmon, while other animals or fish except bear were rarely sought with as much industry. The plant food, though more varied in kind, played rather a subsidiary part in Ainu diet.

The devices used by the Ainu for getting their food were both simple and limited in variety, whereas the methods of their employment reveal manifold variations. The Ainu manipulated those implements, singly and in combination, in accordance with different seasons and different places. At the same time they developed multiple ways of using their devices to adjust to particular circumstances under which they obtained their food. In the exploitation of their habitat the Ainu attained a high degree of efficiency by virtue of close adaptation to natural environment coupled with mechanical principles of techniques and skills employed. In order to exploit efficiently their limited resourses they developed a multiplicity of ways to suit the biotic communities in their daily and seasonal changes. And by further applying such automatic devices as the spring bow and the fish trap, they succeeded in overcoming restrictions met with in space and time. Thus they adapted themselves to their habitat through a system of interrelated devices and techniques on the one hand and a system of organized activities in manipulating those devices on the other. By means of exploiting their habitat in such manifold ways and laying up stores for the scarcity season of winter, they had always remained a gathering people without ever turning to nomadic life[49].

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

823 776 river as explained below. Each river has its own head which was thought to be especially important to the river group evolved around it and which was called by a special name. Most important of these names is the affix '*shi*' meaning true, grand and parental, which is attached to the name of the river[56]. For example, one of the head streams of Otopuke is known as *Shi*-Otopuke. What the Ainu call *Shi*-Otopuke, is what they believe to be the source. The river head area was known as *kimun iworu*, *iworu* deep in mountains. Its boundary usually corresponds to the limit of dog salmon run; however, the present writer could not verify what the fact means. The top of a particular mountain at the source of *Shi*-stream, i.e. the source stream as recognized by the Ainu, of the river, was called *iworu tapka*, the top of *iworu*, where it was believed the chief bear-spirit lived. There also are some evidences that the chiefs of some other categories of nature spirits were believed to reside there[57]. *Kimun iworu* was the area which was actually visited only by Ainu bear hunters and bark collecters. The *iworu tapka* was believed by the Ainu to be the place never accessible to them. Ainu settlements were along the river below *kimun iworu*.

The tributary streams giving into each river were called children, *poho*, or branched people, *tekehe utari*, of the river and had their own names. Each of these streams or glens named by the Ainu, was inhabited and owned by a water-spirit, *nai koru kamui*, the glen-owning *kamui* who was subordinate to [361] the river-owning *kamui*[58]. Ainu settlements were usually situated near the junction of those streams and the river distinguished by the Ainu as a unit, for instance, as Otopuke.

361 776 342 Ainu settlements were thus associated with the terrestrial homes of nature spirits, *kamui*. The houses of all Ainu settlements had a special type of window which was oriented towards the river-head[59]. The sacred window had a function specialized for communication between the fire spirit in the house and other *kamui* outside[60]. This had influenced the spatial arrangement of the habitation of the Ainu family and the pattern of the Ainu settlements (Figs. 1 and 6)[61]. In the past, settlements usually consisted of a single row of houses, which seldom lined up face to face on both sides of a road. Now [178] that the cosmological ideas of most Ainus have changed, the traditional pattern has also altered in most settlements, which are usually seen today with a plurality of house rows.

825 776 Dog Salmon as Viewed by the Ainu.

The Ainu view of the nature of the dog salmon, especially of its seasonal run to specific rivers and its habit of spawning in specific grounds, may be summarized as follows.

a) The salmon takes the form of a fish but it is not a fish of common

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Hence the great sanctity in which the window is held at all times and the taboo of peeping therein as a gravest violence." (KINTAICHI, 1937, pp. 118-9). The present writer also was informed of exactly the same ideas and practices concerning the window from Kazari, my informant from Otopuke. YOSHIDA gives the following information obtained from the Otopuke Ainu on his visit to Otopuke early in the 1900's: the window, *kamui puyara*, is faced towards the North or the upper reaches of the Otopuke river where *kamui* reside, and the *kamui* look into the Ainu house through the window (YOSHIDA, 1956a, p. 11).

Of the Sakhalin Ainu the sacred window of similar use and significance is reported. The name is *kamui kushi puyara*, window for *kamui* to pass through, or *inao kushi puyara*, window for the *inao*, one for taking out *inao*-offerings for the outdoor altar (NAGANE, 1925, p. 95).

Miss Gerda SMIDT of the National Museum in Copenhagen, called my attention to a fact that the Lapp house also has a special entrance for a bear killed.

(61) Spatial arrangement of the Ainu dwelling house, the associated structures and workshops.—Being inseparably connected with gathering activities, these structures and workshops, together with their traditional pattern of arrangement (Figs. 1 and 6; p. 9) were fast discarded in comparatively recent times with the conversion to agricultural life (Notes 7-8). Today what remains is a scrap of their names preserved in Ainu dictionaries and oral epics known as *yukar*. Nor is there literature referable on the spatial orientation of those structures and workshops that used to be annexed to the dwelling house of the Hokkaido Ainu. For the Sakhalin Ainu, information is supplied by YAMAMOTO concerning their dwelling house, food storehouse, dog-leashing poles, lavatory, bear-cub cage, altar, ash- and refuse-heaps, etc., all arranged on a prescribed pattern in their home settlement (YAMAMOTO, 1943, pp. 57-62).

The book indicates that the Sakhalin Ainu built their dwelling house, altar and bear-cub cage in a relative position identical with their Hokkaido Ainu counterparts as investigated by the present writer. The relative position of the ash-heap in either case is also roughly the same. Some of the storehouses were also in the same position. That the sacred window and the altar apparently formed an axis likewise pointing up the stream flowing past the settlement, may be inferred from a statement in the book that the Sakhalin Ainu settlement was originally located, with their doors opening on the sea and their backs to the mountain, on a seaside elevation near a river-mouth ascended by the dog- and cheery-salmon (ibid., pp. 45 and 57) and also from three accompanying sketch maps (ibid., pp. 55-56).

(62) Social aspect of the dog salmon ritual and of the rituals for other fishes.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Tokapchi. The Ainu belief that the spirit of the sent-off animal returns to the specific mountain at the head of a river that is regarded as the abode of the chief of the bears, is distinctively and minutely represented in some of their mythological stories (KINTAICHI, 1943, pp. 153-154; pp. 176-177).

The only available information that suggests a territorial ordering of bears as laid down by the Ainu will be found in a quotation from INUKAI at the end of Note 63.

In spite of all such information, however, no attention has ever been paid to the system of social solidarity, based on the territorial principle, which exists between the river group and the bears in the same river area.

66) Season for the bear ceremony.—Different writers and informers give different times for the bear ceremony: September or October (HALLOWELL, 1926, p. 121; mostly between late November and January to February (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 256); in and about Kutcharo at least, between December and January to February (SARASHINA, 1942, p. 126). The actual dates of the few festivals observed by Ainu hunters in recent times vary considerably as in the following cases: 25 November, 1939, for one performed by Oyamada at Rankoushi in Shikot (NATORI, 1941, p. 68); 16-17 December, 1939, for one observed by Ōno at Suwan in Kushiro (INUKAI and NATORI, 1940, p. 96; 29 January, 1940, for another again by Oyamada at the same place NATORI, 1941, p. 68). It must be noticed, however, that in the days when the natives still lived in their traditional ways a limited period in winter was the only time for a whole settlement group to engage in festive activities which lasted for days or for any great number of people to come together from different settlements, as may be observed in the chart on p. 53 showing the cycle of gathering activities. A diary left by one of the earliest Japanese settlers on the middle Tokapchi (HAGIHARA, ed., 1937) records an invitation he received to a bear cermony at one of local Ainu households on 21 January, 1883 (ibid., p. 111) and another to one at a local headman's on 14 January, 1884 (ibid., p. 160). SARASHINA mentions that along the river Kutcharo or Kushiro bear ceremonies went round in succession from the upper to lower settlements (SARASHINA, 1942, p. 126; for a case of the ceremonies in modern times in the same area, see Note 67). Though no detailed information is available, such a custom appears to have been related in some way with the system described in the text by which a series of bear ceremonies were performed in sequence by different member local groups or settlement groups of each *shine itokpa* group.

67) Social aspect of bear ritual.—The so-called bear ceremony of the Ainu in its traditional form is now only barely preserved among the small remnant

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

of Ainu bear hunters, and even with those huntsmen the event has ceased to function socially as it did in the past. What has hitherto been described by various writers has been confined to its formal aspect, chief works dealing with which may be found in the bibliographies by HALLOWELL (1926) and INUKAI and NATORI (1939); more recently, minutely detailed reports have been published by INUKAI and NATORI (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939 and 1940; NATORI, 1941). For various reasons its social aspect has been virtually ignored in nearly all studies of the Ainu, and our knowledge of that aspect has remained little further than what was summarized by HOLLOWELL, as follows: "In every case it is evident that the affair is communal in nature. Not only friends and relatives in the village but sometimes individuals from other settlements as well are invited by the owner of the bear, who is also the host" (HALLOWELL, 1926, p. 122). Only in a later report by INUKAI and NATORI (1940) on the formal aspect of the bear rite as it is observed today may one have fragmentary information regarding the subject—the relation between the rite and the participants. Here follows an excerpt from the above report referring to a bear festival which took place in the middle of December in 1939 at Suwan settlement in Kushiro, one of the older native *kotan* (INUKAI and NATORI, 1940, pp. 96-135).

In the spring of 1939 a bear cub was caught by Kawasaki, an old Ainu from Kutcharo settlement who lodged at the settlement of Suwan. The cub was taken over by Old Ōno, a descendant of Hashibami, elder of the former Suwan *kotan*, and it was kept in a cage built by the sacred window of his ancestral dwelling. The ritual killing of the bear was performed at an old altar left by the late Hashibami, about 40 metres from the cage.

The ceremony was attended by members of the three other settlements on the river, Kutcharo (the uppermost settlement), Tohro and Harutori (the lowermost settlement). The attendants from Harutori were all females. On this occasion at least, for reasons not known, no invitation was sent to the settlement but the women came to join the ceremony. It is informed that the bear festivals at Suwan had been attended by members of about the same four *kotan*. The main participants were: old Ōno, who had brought up the cub; old Kawasaki, who caught it, old Isosato, who was descended from a headman of the former Kutcharo; Tosa, an old member of Tohro; Yamanaka and Teshi, old members of Kutcharo. The main part of the bear ceremony consisted of a series of rituals, not only to the bear itself but also to other associated *kamui* groups. The essential element of the rituals is the offering of prayers and *inau*-sticks to the respective *kamui*. The performance of the rituals was allotted to the male participants who came from the aforementioned settlements, the important parts being taken by the elders whose names were previously mentioned. Now old Ōno was the adopted into his

F.J. 175 /122 cont./
Sakhalin begins to the north of the Kitosi region still inhabited by the Ainu (1). According to the pertinent map, however,

1. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 191).

the latter, with its north end, extended to Porokotan (2), and this

F.J. [114]

2. On the map to which we refer (with the inscription "Mogami Tok'nai" 1786, see above, p. 248, note 1) there is written "Torokotan," evidently only the result of a printing error or confusion between p and t on the part of the Japanese, the adjoining map, inscribed "Mamia Rinso 1808," on which the same place is called "Porokotan," shows.

is, as we saw above (3), at the same time the Pilja-wo of the

3. See above, pp. 29, 30.

A G 131 ●178 563 175 A [648] Gilyak, their last village to the south, where they already live intermixed with the Ainu. At the present time a mixed population of this kind is advancing to the north of Pilja-wo, as was explained in detail above. This may not have been the case at that time, or not to the same extent, and the two peoples concerned may have been much more distinctly separated, though mixture through marriage has always taken place. If that is true, then the entire change in the boundary situation between the Gilyak and the Ainu that has taken place there from the time of Mamia Rinso's visit to these regions to mine is only that a somewhat more pronounced or more widespread mixture of the two has occurred, probably because even then some of the Ainu fled northward to the Gilyak out of fear of the Japanese, just as happened quite notoriously later when the Japanese colonization

A G /122 cont./
131 began to spread rapidly (4). There are no reports at all for
175
[198]
[563]

4. See above, p. 154.

A [648] evaluating a possible change in the boundaries of the Gilyak area on the east coast of Sakhalin, since that part of the island was visited neither by earlier travelers nor by the two Japanese mentioned above.

G In summarizing everything that has been said about the
131 Gilyak up to now, we are able to draw the conclusion that, so
175 far as our historical information concerning this people extends, which does not cover a very great period of time, no considerable
G change or shift of their habitation sites has taken place. Whether
[174] and how such might have taken place in prehistoric times, however, can only be judged as a conjecture on the basis of other facts and phenomena, which we shall discuss later.

A While we lack historical information on the Gilyak going
175 back very far, this is by no means the case with respect to the
131 Ainu. This is true, however, for only a part of this people,
184 particularly those who are beyond the scope of this work. The farther they were to the south, the earlier the Ainu emerge from the darkness of the prehistoric period, according to the extent and as a consequence of their contacts with the Japanese: they were first observed on Nippon, then on Jesso /Yesso/, and, finally, on Sakhalin and the Kuriles. Since their whole area of distribution /123/ consists of islands which are separated by straits with rapid currents in part, and the Japanese only gradually spread northward from island to island, the oldest reports concerning the southern Ainu and those concerning the northern
A ones are far apart, and whereas the former are two and a half
175 millenniums old, the latter go back only as many centuries.
131 According to Siebold (1), at the time of the founding of Japan
E.I.
175
187

A [113]

1. Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Maert. Gerr. Vries; benev. eene verhand. over de Aino-taal en de voortbrengs. der Aino-landen

A 224 114 [192] /576 cont./ More Trustworthy and of greater interest with respect to the hunting practices of the Ainu is the statement by the same traveler that they set up snares similar to those for the river otter and sable also for the musk deer (Ainu likun-kamoi), and, to be sure, in accordance with its habitat, in the mountain gorges. Accordingly, I am inclined to conjecture that this animal is also caught in a similar manner by the Gilyak, though I heard nothing about it among them. The Ainu method of hunting larger animals, such as reindeer and bear, is likewise the same as among the Gilyak, except that they also use poisoned arrows, which, as /577/ was mentioned above, are not found among the latter. The bear pikes, spears, and lances required for hunting are supplied to them, however, since the complete decline of their own forging skill, through barter from the Gilyak, in which those elegant lances with inlaid silver, copper, and brass figures are regarded as Manchurian -- a view which may be maintained and encouraged by the Gilyak out of self-interest. All in all, however, the Ainu are hunters even less than the Gilyak, and, to be sure, not only because they, like the latter, gain their livelihood chiefly from fishing and seal-catching, which certainly give them a meager subsistence, but also because they are too lazy and, as a consequence of the Japanese yoke burdening them, too apathetic to procure for themselves the means for a more abundant and better existence through a more active practice of hunting fur-bearing animals, easily turned to good account in trade with the Gilyak.

G A 224 [411] A 411 439 325 ● 178 A 224 181 433 648

G1 224 433 The situation is different for the other neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Orok. Among them the inclination for hunting peculiar to all Tungusic tribes appears in very obvious and characteristic ways. Although wedged in in small numbers between two more powerful, sedentary fishing peoples, they have remained, as was discussed above in detail, hunting nomads in their principal concerns and character. Hunting is absolutely necessary for their livelihood, for though they also occupy themselves for a period during the year with fishing and seal-hunting along the seashore and the mouths of the rivers, this is far from sufficient for their subsistence, and only the hunting diligently

G1 [439]